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ABSTRACT

Development and education in Appalachia and the Republic of Tanzania (Africa) are discussed in this paper. Major topics on Appalachia include geography, early settlers, history, the literary discovery of Appalachia, the missionary discovery of Appalachia, exploitation, depression and welfarism, and the Appalachian Regional Commission. Topics on Tanzania include characteristics, a brief history, German control, British control, President Julius Kambarage Nyerere, the Primary School Leavers' Crisis, the National Service Crisis, Education for Self Reliance, and Tanzanian Socialism. Nine comparisons between Appalachia and Tanzania are presented, such as geographic isolation and exploitation by outside economic forces. (PS)

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Development and Education in Applachia and Tanzania*

By Franklin Parker

Introduction

Applachia in wealthy America and Tanzania amid some more affluent neighbors in East Africa are indeed different. Yet they have in common geographical, historical, and other conditions that make for poverty, an economy of scarcity, a relatively static society, and strong continuity with the past. Conditions have led each area's people to find their identity through kinship groups, their values in putting friendship above material acquisitions, their orientation in being part of the environment rather than in doing something to change it, their trust in individuals above organizations, their distrust of strangers and outside agencies, their living in the present rather than in the future, their communicating effectively only when a personal relationship has been established, and their suspicion of education because it turns youths from accepted traitions, leads them to leave family and community, and makes them dissatisfied with ordinary work.

Still, the mountaineers of Appalachia and the Africans of Tanzania have had to face new conditions for survival in their respective changing worlds. Both have found themselves involved in development plans organized on federal, regional, and local levels. Both are in the process of improving themselves in relation to their wider geographical setting. It may be instructive to examine the conditions causing poverty in each area and to compare development and education plans, prospects, and problems.

APPLACHIA

The Mountains

The Appalachian Mountains, running northeast, southwest, and inland along the eastern coast of North America, limited early settlers to the eastern shores and gave them time to consolidate, adjust, and mature as British colonies. Later, the mountain trails and gaps were routes for migrants going west. For those who stayed, the mountains offered a primitive home of rough terrain. The majestic but isolated hills and valleys were barriers to people within and without.. Appalachian conditions stamped themselves upon the people. Geography and history shaped their way of life.

Early Settlers (1600s and 1700s)

To Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia came, among others, orphans, debtors, criminals, and the poor of all kinds. Some willingly, others unwillingly were

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pushed out of England, Scotland, and Ireland by a Parliament eager to rid the homeland of its less desirables. Many indentured servants, after laboring seven years or more for their masters, moved from the coastal plains to the rolling piedmont to the mountain foothills for land of their own, game, privacy, independence. These first southern mountaineers, mainly poor unwanted Scots, Irish, and English, were different from God-intoxicated Puritans or hymn-singing Moravian pietists or upper class Anglican gentlemen. Having been expelled from Britain and ill-used as indentured servants, many were cynical, resentful, and angry.[1]

Those whom the Appalachian mountains pleased stayed, perhaps because game was plentiful, because the hills and hollows shut out restricting laws, because they had few neighbors and liked it that way, or because they lacked the vision of those who continued west beyond the mountains. Whatever the reasons, the mountain people stayed, cherishing their freedom and the fruits of the forests. Most built their rude homes along clanlike family lines, fought Indians, sometimes mated with Indian women, and hunted game until it thinned out.

Watauga Association and the State of Franklin (1772 - 1784)

Daniel Boone and others led some Appalachian hunters and small farmers to settle in western North Carolina, in an area known in 1772 as Watauga. Under a compact and with law courts, self-governing Wataugans, irritated at North Carolina's hesitancy to incorporate them, created a constitution in 1784 for the independent state of Franklin, later part of Tennessee. In The Winning of the West, Theodore Roosevelt called these frontiersmen "the first men of American birth to establish a free and independent community on the continent."[2]

Thus, ancestors of many present Appalachian mountaineers expressed their independence in self-governing Watauga and Franklin. In holding off the Indians, they protected the western flank of the eastern colonies. And it was Wataugans who beat the British at the Battle of King's Mountain.

The Battle of King's Mountain: October 7, 1780

This decisive battle, won by Appalachians, helped turn the tide of the American Revolution. Having occupied Georgia and South Carolina, some 1,100 British troops marched into North Carolina where, atop King's Mountain, they were bested by 900 hastily organized mountaineers. This first victory in the south heartened the Americans and presaged victory at Yorktown.[3]

The Stereotype Mountaineer (1830s)

Settlers moved into the southern and middle Appalachians fairly steadily until the War of 1812. At first they were able to live in and from the forests. By 1830 game had thinned out and they became mainly small farmers dependent on small crops. A surplus of one of these crops, corn, could not be easily transported for sale and profit. As of old, it was simpler to distill corn into whisky, which found a ready cash market in and near Appalachia. By not paying revenue to the government, the independent mountaineer broke the law, as his forebears had done in the Whisky Rebellion of 1794. Thus arose a root conflict with the law and the stereotype of the mountaineer as a moonshiner continually at war with revenue officers.

Civil War (1861-1865)

Slavery was not economic in narrow valleys or on steep slopes where cotton could not be grown, though some better-off mountain families owned a few slaves. There was antipathy to slavery too as mountaineers recalled that they were originally forced west because of cheap slave labor. Also, by class and religion, they were apart from and hostile toward wealthy Anglican plantation slave owners. And, they were loyal to the United States, for which they had fought in three wars--the Revolution, the War of 1812, and the Mexican War.

Yet some Southern sympathizers did live amid the largely pro-Union mountaineers. Parts of Tennessee and Kentucky stood with the Union. North Carolina's mountain people were about equally divided. Western Virginians broke away to form pro-Union West Virginia in 1863.[4]

In Appalachia more than in other sections, the Civil War divided families, friends, neighbors. The rough terrain made it a natural hiding place for guerrilla war. Renegades and bandits rode the hills for plunder. This chaos also gave a chance for settling old scores. Isolated mountain life had bred suspicions which the war fanned, which wounded veterans magnified, and which bitter widowed mountain women passed on. Here was fought a war within a war. Here hatred smoldered and often erupted in mountain feuds.[5]

Mountain Feuds (1865-1915)

Mountain feuds had several origins, isolation, and hardship being root factors. Each man fought nature with his back against the wall. Mutual suspicion and lack of social cooperation were common. Except as kinsman or partisan, mountaineers did not pull together. Then, too, in this gun-carrying society, the credo was to defend honor and kin. Guns and whisky magnified trivialities among those who lived far from the law. When a believed or known slayer whom the law was slow to apprehend continued to live among and often to taunt relatives of the slain, direct vengeance took place, as expressed by one mountaineer:

> Folks are mostly related in this country. If I get into trouble, even if I am not to blame, there is no use going to the law if the judge is kin to the other side, or if the lawyer has succeeded in getting his own men on the jury. It doesn't make any difference what the evidence is, the case goes the way they want it to go. Then there is nothing for me to do but to accept, and let them throw off on me a coward, if I stay in the country; to leave the country and give up all I own, and still be looked at as a coward; or to get my kinfolk and friends together and clean up the other crowd. What would <u>you</u> do?

The Hatfields and McCoys, for example, had fought on different sides of the Civil War. Their unfriendliness was aggravated when a McCoy penned up two wild hogs claimed by a Hatfield and refused to pay for them. Differences mounted, including political differences, with the first fatal shooting in 1882 near an election booth. This feud resulted in at least 65 deaths in Pike County, Ky., and Logan County, W.Va. Legend has it that the feud ended when two survivors, a Hatfield boy and a McCoy girl, married.[6]

Literary Discovery of Appalachia (1870-1910)

Writer Will Wallace Harney's travels in the Cumberland Mountains and his resulting article, "A Strange Land and a Peculiar People," began in 1873 a literary discovery of Appalachia by writers seeking the picturesque. A growing middle-class audience read of Appalachia in the new magazines: Lippincott's, Scribner's, The Century, Appleton's, The Living Age, The American Review of Reviews, and Harper's New Monthly Magazine. Between 1870 and 1890 some 90 mountain travel sketches and 125 stories of mountain life appeared, depicting the mountain people as a separate cultural unit, in but not of America. The reading public took to the mountain novel, attracted by the quaint dialect and the different customs. By 1900, six to eight such novels appeared each year, like John Fox, Jr.'s (1863-1919) two best sellers: The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come (1903) and The Trail of the Lonsome Pine (1908), both also made into plays and films. The stereotype became familiar: the gun-toting mountaineer, isolated, ignorant, clannish, feuding, making moonshine, suspicious, and gullible.[7]

Missionary Discovery of Appalachia (1899-Present)

In 1899 in writing "Our Contemporary Ancestors in the Southern Mountains," Pres. William G. Frost of Berea College, near Lexington, Ky., helped foster the name "Appalachia" on, in his words, "the mountainous backyard of eight states," which he described as "one of God's grand dividions."[8] He was among the first to give the area a regional homogeneity and to picture Appalachians as noble Elizabethan people who, through no fault of their own but by isolation had become time-frozen, non-enterprising, poor, and backward. It behooved an enterprising America that was industrializing and Americanizing its immigrant millions to do the same for its neglected Appalachian wards.

A religious man who presided over a religious school, Frost turned Berea toward catering to mountain youth. He also worked to awaken and to spur missionary interest and effort. Workers from churches and foundations descended on Appalachia at the turn of the century, making it, as it remains today, a vast home mission field dedicated to saving the fallen mountaineer.[9]

Exploitation (1870s-1920)

Appalachian timber helped build America. Because big money could be made in timbering, northern and eastern interests hungrily eyed Appalachian trees. Shrewd timber hunters scouted the region and knew just how to talk the mountaineer into selling his trees or leasing his land for timber rights. Not accusmtomed to cash, many a mountaineer sold his giant trees cheaply and was often hired to cut his own trees, float them downstream, and saw them at nearby mills. Few mountaineers were fairly compensated and many companies bought cheaply not only trees but mineral rights and that meant coal.

Coal hunger was sparked by worldwide industrial growth that required coal as fuel. Appalachia, rich in coal, was exploited by corporations which moved in to acquire mineral rights. Again the cash-short mountaineer sold for a pittance black gold that fueled industrial furnaces, warmed the nation's homes, and enriched the coal barons. Leaving plow and hoe for wages that seemed high, many a mountaineer moved to the clapboard coal company towns, rented company-owned cheap houses, ran up bills in company stores, used a company post office, were kept in line by

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company police, mayors and judges, and were buried in company-owned cemeteries.

The coal boom brought new immigrants to Appalachia--Poles, Hungarians, Italians, and others. The coal companies had everything their own way and bitterly fought unionization, but its coming and ascendancy were inevitable. Bloody Harlan County, Ky., got its reputation during union strife (1920s and 30s) when miners packed pistols with food in their lunch pails.

Coal, the single most important industry in southern and middle Appalachia, showed up the wealth of nature and the poverty of the people. Coal was a boom-and-bust industry, having boomed intermittently to 1920, then slumped in competition with oil and gas to the late 1950s. It has since boomed again, but is now more efficient, automated, and has fewer but better trained miners.[10]

Depression and Welfarism (1930s)

Appalachians knew suffering and privation as their lot no matter how hard they tried. The environment had been too hard to conquer, without technology or skills or help to control hostile nature. There was disillusionment, despair, and fatalism. Then, during the Great Depression, as New Deal guidelines for poor relief included three-fourths of all Appalachians, they accepted welfare money. One mountain woman explained: "It's the good Lord taking care of me because I've worked hard all my life and prayed to Him." For many, welfare bore no shame or degradation or incompatibility with old values of individuality and self-reliance.

Indeed, the Great Depression put many in Appalachia in contact with a money economy. Relief checks regularly bought clothing and food. Their wants increased. Outside Appalachia the dole was usually a temporary lifeline until one could find work. Inside Appalachia the dole for many continued for so long--over a decade--that it became the accepted way of life, passed from generation to generation, and expected as a right. Idleness continued, morale was undermined, pride and self-respect drained away, decay set in, refuse accumulated, and junked cars in front of ramshackled huts became a hillbilly trademark.[11]

Appalachian Regional Commission, 1965 (ARC)

New Deal public works agencies organized to combat the Depression of the 1930s were models for later regional and national development plans. In depressed areas which had never been industrialized or had lost industries, the Federal Government attempted to improve basic facilities--water, sewage treatment, power, recreation--so as to attract modern industry. But little money was spread so thinly over many and varied depressed communities that few were really aided and Appalachia was largely ignored. Efficient focusing was needed and this began when Eastern Kentucky floods in 1957 and the subsequently founded Eastern Kentucky Regional Council led to the recommendation of a regional approach to Appalachian problems. On May 8, 1960, Maryland's Governor Tawes called the first Conference of Appalachian Governors, who appealed to the two major presidential candidates for a combined state-federal approach to Appalachian problems. In May 1961, Appalachian governors met at the White House with President John F. Kennedy, who paved the way for the President's Appalachian Regional Commission on April 9, 1963.

A year later the Commission's recommendations to President Lydon B. Johnson were packaged into the Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC) and signed into law on march 9, 1965. It was an ambitious new kind of independent state-federal agency

which had promise in that the governors themselves had initiated it and had keen interest in its planning and support.

Appalachian Shortcomings

ARC emerged on the crest of a nationally awakened concern over poverty, sparked by the mounting civil rights movement of the mid-1950s, sensitively popularized by such liberal books as John Kenneth Galbraith's The Affluent Society (1958) and Michael Harrington's The Other America (1962); and raised to the highest political level by John F. Kennedy, whose important West Virginia primary victory drew attention to Appalachia as a dramatic symbol of poverty in a nation of affluence.

The 1960 census provided evidence of Appalachia's shortcomings, as the following comparisons with the rest of the United States show (some more recent West Virginia figures are included):

Income Deficiencies (1960 Census):

Income/family/yr.	Appalachia	Rest of USA
under $3,000	30.7%	20.5%
$3,000-$10,000	60.6%	63.9%
over $10,000	8.7%	15.6%
income per capita	$1,405	$1,901
income per capita (1971)	$3,275 (W.Va.)	$4,156
unemployment	7.1%	4.0%

Educational Deficiencies (per 100 persons under age 25):

	Appalachia	Rest of USA
Less than 5th grade completed	11.6 persons	8 persons
Finished high school	32.3 "	41.8 "
4 years of college	5.2 "	7.9 "
Teachers' salaries (1961-62)	$4,800	$6,200
Teachers' salaries (1971-72)	$7,976 (W.Va.)	$9,690
School expenditure/child	$337	$518
School expenditure/child(1971-72)	$669 (W.Va.)	$867
Rural population	52.7%	30.2%
School dropouts: 1-12 grades	65%	36.2%
Per 10 pupils in grade 1:		
complete high school	4 pupils	6 pupils
enter college	1+ "	2+ "
complete college	1- "	1 "
Teacher turnover	14.2%	8.2%

The 1960 census showed Appalachia to be an undereducated region with a high proportion of rural people, a high rate of school dropout, a high rate of school retardation, a meager tax base, a high turnover of young teachers educated in Appalachia who leave the region for higher salaries elsewhere, and with a lower pro-rata share of federal aid than the rest of the country because of ignorance about the availability of funds and a lack of grantsmanship skills. Despite gains in the 1970 census, conditions change slowly in a region with an anti-booklearning tradition. The feeling persists that learning somehow

separates children from their parents and destroys the family and community reference group.

Many mountain homes have few if any books and children needing help in homework find little encouragement. The adult Appalachian world is not one of ideas but of being and belonging. Dreary-lived mountaineers and miners seldom see much of the world's mobility, complexity, aspirations, and careers. This localism is perpetuated by mountain-taught teachers and by politically bound school systems where teachers are hired on a personal rather than a professional basis. Public education came late to Appalachia, has been overly inbred, and all too often has reflected narrow local interests and low aspirations. These adverse conditions and backward attitudes have put Appalachia behind the rest of America.

ARC Development Strategy

ARC recognized Appalachia as an island in the midst of affluence largely bypassed by national transportation routes. Early patterns of settlement had dispersed Appalachia's millions into hollows and onto ridges in very many small communities and mining camps isolated from the mainstream of American economic growth. ARC set top priority on interstate highway corridors to open Appalachia to national commerce, and on access roads for local people to get to jobs, schools, and hospitals. Rather than diffuse its limited resources on many communities, ARC identified established growth centers with potential for future growth. Strengthening these growth centers became ARC's second priority. The third priority was to invest in education, health, and other services in order to lift up the numerous surrounding rural areas.

Subregional Needs

Appalachia has four subregions, each with specific problems and strengths. Southern Appalachia (parts of Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Virginia) had moved from agriculture to manufacturing and services; its prime need was high school and post-high school vocational education to provide skilled labor. Northern Appalachia (southern New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, northern West Virginia, and southern Ohio) was in transition from coal and steel to new manufactures and services; it needed post-high school and adult occupational training for this transition. The Appalachian highlands (mountainous parts of Georgia, South Carolina, Tennessee, North Carolina, Kentucky, Virginia, West Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Maryland) were sparsely settled but rich in scenic beauty; its prime need was recreational facilities for tourists. Central Appalachia (eastern Kentucky, southern West Virginia, southwestern Virginia, and northeastern Tennessee) had small communities with high outmigration; its prime needs were growth centers, transportation, education, and health services.[12]

Criticism

ARC's priority for highway corridors and the extension of existing growth centers has been criticized as inadequate. Some say that aid in these two priorities will benefit mainly outsiders and those few Appalachians who are already successful. Such priorities will not reach the poor majority for perhaps a decade, and even then may be of small benefit. Critics say that the highway building pace is slow and costly, that it offers no immediate help to poor people, and that the same

funds might be used better for immediate education and medical aid to the far greater number of smaller communities outside the growth centers. Critics also say that boondoggling took place when Congressmen from areas peripheral to Appalachia had their districts included in the program to benefit from money for Appalachia.

Some believe that crash efforts are made on problems that do not lend themselves to crash solutions, that when results are disappointing, the programs are abandoned. Too often there is disunity, duplication, and delay, as cited by one writer about the Appalachian Regional Commission and the Office of Economic Opportunity. "They are both spending millions in the same hollows and small towns of Appalachia. Yet they barely speak to each other."[13] Added another writer, citing vested outside interests: "If Appalachia hasn't changed, it may be in part because too many are dependent on it as it now is."[14]

Kentucky lawyer and author Harry Caudill, whose Night Comes to the Cumberland (1963) poignantly brought Appalachia's plight to national attention, blames the big coal companies for wasting the land by surface (strip) mining, charges them with tax evasion, and says that they extract Appalachian wealth while leaving behind outmoded and inadequate tax structures that cannot meet local needs. The region's only hope, he writes, is to nationalize the coal industry. The Federal Government's war on poverty has failed in Appalachia, writes Caudill, because it faced the dilemma of aiding the poor without distressing the rich. Inevitably, it gave in to wealthy coal, land, gas, timber, and quarry interests at the expense of the poor.

ARC Evaluation

Meanwhile, ARC points to these benefits of the over $1 billion it has funneled into Appalachia since 1965 and the additional over $5 billion it has stimulated from state and local governments and from other Federal agencies:

--The building (still underway) of 22 highway corridors to interstate traffic, plus 293.4 miles of access highways.
--385 vocational and technical schools and pre-school child development centers serving 125,445 children.
--267 primary care projects (hospitals and clinics).
--Some 900 companies employing 50 or more people have opened plants in Appalachia between 1965 and 1970, employing a total of 225,000 in new manufacturing jobs.[15]

Eight years (1965-73) may be too short a period to evaluate fairly ARC's efforts. As critics point out, Appalachia still lags behind the rest of the United States.

THE REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

Introduction

Politically and educationally, Tanzania is among the third world's most interesting countries in that its leaders consciously use the schools to foster a particular form of socialism. Tanzanian socialism, centered mainly in communal self-help farming villages, eschews outside aid, aims at national self-sufficiency, and closely links schools to national development. Thus, "Education for Self Reliance"

a popular slogan from a 1967 state paper, has a special social-political meaning and economic purpose which most Tanzanians understand. Schools are viewed as basic agencies to create citizens to serve Tanzania. Put another way, in most developing countries where a poor economy limits opportunity, education is often dysfunctional; that is, many who climb the school ladder are frustrated because they are led to expect but cannot find the relatively few good jobs and careers. Tanzania seeks to avoid this frustration by instilling into youths in schools a new sense of social concern, a willingness to serve society and hence to uplift it. It is instructive to try to understand how and why this educational purpose arose, how it functions, its problems, and prospects.

Characteristics

Tanzania on the eastern coast of Africa, just south of the Equator, consists of the territory formerly called Tanganyika and the off-shore islands of Zanzibar (known for cloves), Pemba, and Mafia. Slightly larger than Texas and Oklahoma combined, Tanzania (363,820 square miles) contains Mount Kilimanjaro, highest mountain in Africa and celebrated in Ernest Heminway's writings, the Great Lakes of the Western Rift, Olduvai Gorge, where anthropologist Louis S.B. Leakey (1903-72), his wife and son found man's oldest known remains, and the famed Serengeti plans, which run across to the southern shores of Lake Victoria.

Ninety nine per cent of Tanzania's 13.3 million people are black Africans divided into some 140 tribes. Most of the 15,000 whites are temporary residents without political power. The significant minorities are 850,000 Asians (mainly Indians) and 26,000 Arabs. The 95% rural Africans are concentrated on the coastal belt, in the mountain areas, and around Lake Victoria; few live on the vast arid plateau. With few natural resources, the average annual income in about $75 per person.* Only 400,000 earn wages; the rest are subsistence farmers who raise maize, bananas, millet, and rice, which, together with the export crops of cotton, coffee, sisal, cashews, and tea, provide the national livelihood and government revenue. Disease and ill-health make for a life expectancy of under 40 years. About 1 in 4 of the children die before they are five years old.[16]

Brief History

Although their validity is still disputed, human remains believed to be about 2 million years old found by the Leakeys place earliest man's origin in Tanzania and East Africa rather than in Asia.

700s-1600s: Arabs controlled offshore Zanzibar and the Tanzania coast until 1506. Portugal ruled until the 1600s, when Arab control was reestablished. The main inland people were largely untouched.

1885-1920: German rule over German East Africa lasted some 35 years.

1920-1961: British control followed for 41 years. After Germany's defeat in World War I, the League of Nations assigned the former German East

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*Poverty in developing countries is a relative term, since a man may look poor and live poorly without handling much money and yet have in cattle or wives or children considerable wealth.

Africa to Britain as a mandated territory. German settlers were expelled and the mainland's name was changed from German East Africa to Tanganyika, which, after World War II, continued under British rule as a United Nations Trust Territory.

May, 1961: Tanganyika won independence and Julius K. Nyerere, former teacher and head of the Tanganyika African National Union party (TANU) became prime minister.

1962: Tanganyika became an independent republic within the Commonwealth and Nyerere was elected president.[17]

1963: Zanzibar became independent within the Commonwealth.

1964: Zanzibar became a republic and on Oct. 29 joined Tanganyika to form the United Republic of Tanzania under Pres. Nyerere.

1965: Tanzania became a one-party state (TANU), with plans announced to develop it as a socialist country. Nationalization of industry and agriculture was begun. Tanzania accepted a 30-year, interest-free Chinese Communist loan and technical personnel to build an 1,100-mile railroad to link Zambia's copperbelt and capital of Lusaka with Tanzania's capital of Dar es Salaam on the Indian Ocean (TanZam Railroad).

1967: Publication of the Arusha Declaration, which described the socialist pattern Tanzania would follow and Education for Self Reliance describing the role education would play in the building of Tanzanian socialism. Chinese Communists arrived in Tanzania to work on the TanZam Railroad (by 1973, some 15,000 Chinese technicians and laborers had exceeded goals toward the railroad's expected completion in 1975).

1971: A dispute broke out with neighboring Uganda because Tanzania sheltered ousted Ugandan Pres. Milton Obote and refused to recognize his military successor, Gen. Idi Amin; border clashes have been reported to 1973.

German Control 1885-1916

A latecomer to industrialization and the race for empire, Germany, by treaties between 1885 and 1890, annexed Tanganyika as part of German East Africa. Harsh taskmasters, the Germans introduced a money economy, roads and railways, and such cash crops as coffee, tea, sisal, and cotton. They encouraged Swahili (a Bantu-Arabic admixture) as a common language and also encouraged education so that Africans could become semi-skilled helpers in industry and government. Early school statistics show the following: 1902, 8 government and 15 mission schools; 1911, 83 government schools enrolled 3,192 pupils and 918 mission schools enrolled 63,455 pupils; 1914, as World War I began, 99 government schools enrolled 6,100 pupils and 1,852 mission schools enrolled 155,287 pupils.

The Germans started free government schools and aided and controlled mission schools, all offering a few years of education to those living near a school. The emphasis was on practical work, teacher education, and health improvement,

reflecting the German volksschule for the common people with its goals of teaching obedience, tidiness, punctuality, conscientiousness, and a sense of duty. Swahili as a common language helped unify the 140 diverse tribes, the Arab and Indian Moslems, and the Christians. This linguistic unity later helped Tanzania become independent. The Germans also left a heritage of school bands (there were 1,800 school bands in 1913), a tradition which has continued to the present, with military marches and drills. Although by 1916 the British were impressed by the German effort in African education (government schools did not yet exist in neighboring British Kenya), the literacy level was still very low.[18]

British Control 1918-1961

Schooling might have halted altogether during the 1914-18 war years--there was considerable fighting in East Africa--but for the fact that Africans themselves, eager for education, kept some schools going. The British restored order, revived the economy, and in 1920, the first year of the mandate under the League of Nations, appointed a Director of Education who reopened government schools and encouraged the missions through grants to reopen theirs. By 1925 missions schools enrolled 115,000 African pupils, government schools enrolled 5,000 African pupils, for a total of 120,000 out of an estimated 800,000 school-age African population (thus, about 1 out of 8 was in school).

The 21 mission societies in the 1930s competed for converts and favored the inefficient 2-year village "bush" schools as the spearhead of their effort. The government wanted efficient schools and assumed greater control of mission education by increasing its financial support for the better-run mission schools.

The government gradually developed educational responsibility on the African people, first through native authority schools after 1937, built and maintained by African villagers, with government-trained, supplied, and largely paid teachers; and also through local education authority schools after 1943, locally founded, financed and controlled by Africans but regulated by the government.

The government wanted to stress farming skills in the primary schools as necessary in a mainly agricultural economy. But Africans resisted this bias as inferior education designed to keep them down. This attitude was largely responsible for the overly academic curriculum unsuited to the majority which dominated Tanzanian education until--as will be described--President Nyerere vigorously reinstated an agricultural emphasis. Vernaculars were initially the languages of instruction in village schools. But the need to communicate more widely led in the early 1940s to the substitution of Swahili as the language of instruction in primary schools and English in secondary schools.

After World War II British policy was to prepare Tanganyika for self-rule. External pressures for independence came from the UN, whose reports and advisory teams publicized education progress in trust territories (Tanganyika had become a UN Trust Territory). Internal pressure came from Africans themselves, particularly the elites who were determined to govern their own country. Colonial Development and Welfare Funds, Britain's aid to her overseas territories, helped finance Tanganyika's 10 Year Development Plan, 1947-56, which allocated one fourth of the total to Education. Priority was given to primary education, which UNESCO favored and which seemed right when in 1947 fewer than 10% of the school-age children were

in school (by 1956 this percentage was 36% and considerable technical and trade school gains were made). The pre-World War I school structure of a 6-year primary, 4-year secondary, or 10-year school, gave way after the war to a 4-year primary, 4-year middle school, and 4-year secondary school, for a total of 12 years, as suggested by UNESCO.

The Five Year Plan for African Education, 1957-1961, was the final thrust before independence, with major advancement made in secondary school expansion. During that period, plans were made to integrate the separately administered and financed school systems for whites, Asians, Arabs, and Africans. Integration was gradual over the next few years and accomplished from the top down. Higher education was already nonracial. Teacher training colleges were almost all African. In secondary schools, where English was the medium of instruction, integration proceeded smoothly from form to form. Only in the primary school was it somewhat prolonged in order to convert English and vernacular-medium schools into Swahili-medium schools.

What was not fully anticipated at independence was the necessity of a new social purpose for education under African rule. This purpose was formulated under the shock of necessity--the two school crises of 1966---and undergirded the kind of Tanzanian socialism President Nyerere was in the process of designing.[19]

President Julius Kambarage Nyerere, 1922-

Nyerere was born in 1922 at Butiama, a village on the eastern shore of Lake Victoria, one of 26 children of the chief of the Zanaki tribe. No schooling was available until he was 12 years old, when he entered a boarding primary school 26 miles from home. After finishing primary school in 3 years, instead of the usual 4, he attended a Roman Catholic secondary school at Tabora and was baptized a Roman Catholic at age 20. Between 1943 and 1945, he received teacher training at Makerere College, Kampala, Uganda, where he was awarded the Diploma in Education. While there, he organized the Tanganyika Students' Association and a branch of the Tanganyika African Association, then a nonpolitical public affairs organization founded in 1929 by British civil servants.

Nyerere taught for three years at St. Mary's mission school in Tabora. He then won a scholarship at the University of Edinburgh, Scotland, 1949-1952, where he earned the M.A. degree in history and economics, the first Tanganyikan to attend a British University.

While teaching at St. Francis School in Pugu near Dar es Salaam from 1952 to 1955, he helped transform the Tanganyikan African Assocation into a political organization and became its president in 1953. On July 7, 1954, this organization became the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) with the goal of leading Tanganyika to independence. Its constitution stressed peace, equality, and racial harmony, and opposed tribalism, isolationism, and discrimination--features later incorporated into Tanzanian socialism.

In 1954 British Governor Edward Twining appointed Nyerere to the legislative council, where he was critical of Africans' limited educational opportunities. He urged that legislative council members be elected rather than appointed. In February 1955 he traveled to New York to present TANU's plan for self-government and independence to the UN Trusteeship Council.

Choosing politics over teaching, Nyerere devoted full time to the drive for Tanganyikan independence (he later resumed part-time teaching). He spoke widely around the country. British authorities called some of his speeches inflammatory, but a 1957 order forbidding him to speak publicly was soon lifted. That year he was nominated again to the legislative council but resigned to protest British hesitancy in granting self-government. In a September 1958 election, some 28,500 Tanganyikans who met educational and income qualifications to vote backed TANU against two other parties. On August 30, 1960, TANU won a landslide victory; on September 3, Nyerere became prime minister. Tanganyika peacefully gained independence within the Commonwealth on December 9, 1961. Republic status followed on December 9, 1962, with Nyerere elected president by 97% of the vote.[20]

Primary School Leavers' Crisis, 1966

A decision in 1965 to shorten primary schooling from 8 years to 7 years was to go into effect over a 3-year period, with 1/3 of the country's regions converting each year. The result was that from 1965 to 1967 many more than usual primary school leavers took the General Entrance Examination for secondary schools. Because the number of secondary school places remained about the same, many primary school leavers who had expected to enter secondary school could not do so. Their dashed hopes resulted in a public outcry and anger at the government.

Contributing to the 1966 primary school leavers' crisis was a decline in jobs, stemming in part from the introduction of a minimum wage in January 1963. To offset higher costs, large-scale employers cut their help. Also, because of recent purchases of automated machinery, fewer workers were needed. Consequently, in 1966 fewer than 1 out of 10 entrants into the labor market could find work in industry or other paid employment. The other 9 had to work on the land. Tanzanian youths ranked agricultural work low and preferred clerical and other white collar work which required more than primary education. Thus, the primary school leavers' crisis of 1966 was symptomatic of the dysfunctionality of education in Tanzanian society. In a country where 95% of the people lived on the land, schools did not equip the majority for agriculture. Instead, their schooling created false hopes for further education and white collar work.

This issue, and the National Service crisis described next, could not be resolved in National Assembly debates. The two crises helped speed Pres. Nyerere toward African socialism and resulted in the issuance of two important state papers, The Arusha Declaration and Education for Self Reliance.[21]

National Service Crisis, 1966

On Oct. 4, 1966, the National Assembly made two years of national service compulsory for only university graduates, Form VI leavers, and graduates of other professional institutions. The act required a 3-month training course in principles of African socialism and in language and literature, 3 months of nation building service, and 18 months of service in a post appropriate to the student's training, interests, and career goals. On Oct. 22, just after the act's passage, University of Dar es Salaam students and some secondary school students protested outside Pres. Nyerere's official residence. Refusing to serve, they condemned the act's compulsory features, called it forced labor at reduced salary, and said that it wastefully postponed their entry into chosen careers. One protestor's placard read, "We were better off under colonialism."

A shaken Pres. Nyerere expressed his outrage, expelled the students, and sent them from Dar es Salaam under guard to their homes. Those expelled numbered 310 university students, out of an enrolled total of 552, and 83 secondary students. Dismissal of over half of the university students, source of Tanzania's high-level manpower, was a blow to national development plans and shocked and dismayed government officials and the public. Pres. Nyerere soon relented and allowed those expelled to apply for university readmission.

In January 1967 in the city of Arusha, Pres. Nyerere and TANU's National Executive Committee issued The Arusha Declaration, a manifesto clarifying for students, the public, and TANU's rank and file Tanzania's socialist path. Its message was that agriculture, not industry, was the basis of Tanzanian development; that Tanzania could not and should not rely solely on foreign aid which led to obligations, loss of independence, and neo-colonialism; that Tanzania had to rely on its people and their hard work: "The people and their hard work, especially in agriculture, is the meaning of Self Reliance." The Arusha Declaration had implications for but did not mention education because Nyerere was preparing a separate education statement.[22]

Education for Self Reliance, 1967

Published in March 1967, soon after The Arusha Declaration, Education for Self Reliance is an important modern state paper on the social role of education. It attacked traditional education; that is, colonial education, which Tanzania inherited, as an elitist education for the intellectual few to the detriment of the many primary school leavers marked as failures because they went to work and could not continue in school. Traditional colonial education divorced students from the society they were intended to serve (most Tanzanian primary and secondary schools are boarding schools and hence enclaves isolated from society), promoted the idea that education came only from books and from "educated" people, and removed from productive labor the healthiest and strongest young men and women. Primary education, wrote Nyerere, should be complete in itself, serve society, and not be just preparatory for secondary school. To make schools more practical and pupils more socially sensitive, Nyerere suggested that schools have farms and workshops so as to attempt economic self-sufficiency. Because attitude and atmosphere are important, students should clean their own rooms, grow and prepare their food, maintain their own school, and take part in community development and nation-building. Primary education, terminal for most, was to play this new social-economic-political role in Tanzanian society. The same agriculturally based, socially sensitive, community-oriented, and nation-serving attitudes were to pervade all school levels. This intent Nyerere expressed as follows:

> Our educational system...has to foster the social goals of living together, and working together, for the common good. It has to prepare our young people to play a dynamic and constructive part in the development of a society in which all members share fairly in the good or bad fortunes of the group, and in which progress is measured in terms of human well-being, not presitge, buildings, cars, or other such things, whether privately or publicly owned. Our education must therefore inculcate a sense of commitment to the total community.[23]

Tanzanian Socialism

The Arusha Declaration stated conventional socialist objectives of equality, social justice, communal ownership of resources, state control of production, and no expolitation--to be attained by agrarian reform, controlled industrialization, hard work, intelligence, and above all the self reliance of individuals and of the nation. TANU leaders were to exemplify the virtues they preached by having only one source of income (During his debate with university students on Oct. 22, 1966, Nyerere dramatically cut his own salary by 20% and urged TANU colleagues to do the same).

The Declaration's central theme, that Tanzanians must be self reliant in order to increase agricultural and other production and to distribute resources fairly to all people, is important because it has helped create a climate of opinion that makes change possible.

Claiming that Tanzanian socialism is based on the traditional African extended family, Nyerere has popularized the Swahili word Ujamaa as the heart of African socialism (Ujamaa, translated "familyness," with implications of brotherhood, cooperation, unity). Some observers have called it a mixture of Christian Fabianism and welfare laborism; others call it egalitarianism based on the equality of poverty. Nyerere insists that Ujamaaism is not communism or capitalism but an extension of the family in ever-widening circles to include tribe, nation, and the world of mankind. The individual and the family come before the state; government serves all the people. All workers contribute their skill and receive what they need. The people own the tools of production and the mechanism of exchange. Ujamaaism strikes a balance between group solidarity and personal freedom.

All men are brothers. No one is excluded. Each has a right to work his land and earn his livelihood without racism or aristocracy or arrogance or exploitation. Each uses his special abilities for the benefit of all. Human dignity and mutual respect are the goal. Cooperation supplants ruthless competition. Sharing and distribution take the place of acquisition and hoarding.

Nyerere sees Ujamaaism as a revival of traditional African self help and mutual caring. He would like to have Ujamaaism accepted without coercion as a social philosophy under which change and progress can take place without disruption. He sees it as reviving people's pride and dignity, weakened by colonialism.

Critics have attacked Nyerere's philosophy as utopian, have critically compared Ujamaa villages with Soviet collectives and Mainland China's communes, and have said that in prosperous sections of the country independent farmers resist entry into such villages. They see totalitarian possibilities in the fact that a TANU member is assigned to each 10 Tanzanian families to link the government and the people. Friendly observers say that voluntary Ujamaa villages are growing and that Nyerere is mild, temperate, and a needed father image. Skeptics question whether Nyerere's philosophy can replace man's savage nature with altruism. Yet, development and education, far behind in Tanzania as compared to neighboring Kenya, are tied to the engine of Tanzanian socialism.[24]

SOME COMPARISONS

1. Although Appalachia and Tanzania are at obviously different stages of development, both are poor areas, both pursue economic growth, and both view education as a national investment in preparing manpower needed for economic growth.

2. Both are concerned with raising the school's holding power--that is, reducing dropouts; both need more school places in line with manpower requirements, with Tanzania's need being perhaps greater and her comparable effort being perhaps also greater.

3. Ambivalence toward education as potentially divisive to family and community cohesiveness still lingers and handicaps Appalachia. In trying to remove this dysfunctionality by anchoring the school to community needs, Tanzania has set a more acceptable public climate toward education as community-serving and family-cementing.

4. Tanzania's drive for educational advancement and economic development is high, is government directed, and is nationally focused. In Appalachia, because education is a local matter with state and federal involvement, it is less focused, more wasteful, and perhaps less valued and sought after.

5. Having suffered in the past from the boom-and-bust cycle of a one-resource economy, coal, Appalachia needs curriculum emphases which aid economic diversity: vocational skills for industry and general education for service fields. Tanzania has taken major steps toward emphasizing an agricultural bias in its schools to fit its agro-economy.

6. The traditionally inferior role of women in Tanzanian society is fast changing; educated women in greater numbers may substantially strengthen the teaching force. This factor is less operable in Appalachia, where in the past poorly trained, inbred women teachers have contributed to the high dropout rate. Lower salaries and poor working conditions have encouraged outmigration from Appalachia of younger, brighter teachers, both men and women.

7. Both Tanzania and Appalachia will be altered in unforeseeable ways by major interregional transportation routes--the TanZam Railroad and the Appalachian highway system.

8. Appalachia's "enemies" have been outside exploiting companies who should be induced to return more than hitherto in taxes and to pursue responsible policies that assure the region's future economic potential. Because Tanzania harbors guerrilla forces bent on invading the remaining white-ruled African countries, a race war may rebound to its detriment. Poor relations with Uganda are also a serious threat to regional stability and economic well-being.

9. Tanzanian nationalism and socialism currently act as powerful motivating forces for citizen cooperation and sacrifice. Appalachia lacks such motivating forces.

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ABSTRACT

Although strikingly different, Appalachia (USA) and Tanzania (East Africa) have relatively traditional exploited societies which are currently engaged in substantial development plans. Key factors making for poverty in both areas have been geographical isolation and exploitation by outside economic forces. Political and social changes of 1950-1960 impelled each area's current development plans and educational advances. A political concern about poverty of minority groups in the USA led to establishment of the Appalachian Regional Commission. Political independence and a desire for economic independence led Tanzania to attempt agricultural development. Appalachian development is largely in the hands of national business interests. Tanzania's development approach is along socialist lines. In Appalachia, the common people seem at present little touched by development. In Tanzania, the socialist idealism of national leaders seems to be affecting the common people.